2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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the marching song was sung.[17] Upon reaching the entrance of the enclosure, which had been constructed in the middle of the camp circle, the double column parted, and filed around the inside of the enclosure and took their places. The noted men bearing whips, having been helped in dismounting, took up their positions at either side of the entrance, and the musicians carried the drum to the center of the enclosure where they provided the music for the dancing.

The dance of each society was distinctive. The Stars carried rattles, each designed by its owner,[18] which they waved about, as they danced. The Wolf-men did not have rattles or any special paraphernalia of the kind, but symbolized wolves as they stepped about, one hand at the forehead, and the other held behind to represent the tail.

These dances with their preliminary "begging" expeditions were not put on regularly, but at the discretion of the societies. A time would be chosen when the whole tribe, or most of the bands thereof, were together, when there were no Sacred Dances in immediate prospect, and when there was no apparent danger from the enemy. If these conditions prevailed, one of the societies might proceed, singing loudly: "Harden your hearts, Wolf-men (or Stars)," meaning, "be prepared to give."[19] Not immediately, but some time later, when auspicious conditions again prevailed, the other society would "retaliate."

These dances were purely social. In between times members belonging to one would compete with members of the other in horse-racing, hand-game gambling, "bragging contests" recounting conquests in love and war—each trying to out-do his opposite number.

Sometime between 1875 and 1880 the Wolf-men adopted the Grass Dance from the Assiniboine. Thereafter this Society was sometimes called the Grass dancers.[20]

The Boy was under the impression that the Stars and Wolf-men

[17] Recorded as No. 102.

[18] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 236–37, with illustration.

[19] These songs were recorded as Nos. 93, 94 for the Stars.

[20] Kroeber, 1908, p. 238 describes this dance as the "war-dance." For the adoption of the Grass Dance and subsequent history of the two societies, see Flannery, 1946, pp. 39–70.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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down blankets and whatever he had to give and then his relatives and friends started putting down things to help him out. All those who are going to dance have to put things down. Nobody has to pay who is not going to dance. It cost Jim and his relatives plenty. Old Sitting High, the keeper, wouldn't keep all that stuff. He would give it out to his relatives and friends. I got a horse. The keeper is cleared out. His relatives have to help him lots when he gets the Pipe and then when he has the ceremonies he gets paid and then gives that stuff to his relatives to kind of pay back and in the long run they are not out anything. The more ceremonies the quicker they get their stuff back. Of course they don't figure on it, how much they will get, but that is the way it looks."

According to Al Chandler, our chief informant on the ritual of the Feathered Pipe dance, only the Pipe itself was danced with. According to other informants, other objects in the bundle—the feathered stick and owl—were danced with. We could not clear up the point. Perhaps dancing with the feathered stick or owl was a separate rite, or else a latter (after ca. 1905) development of the Pipe dance rite.

According to Rufus Warrior, the dancing consisted in swaying of the body, rather, or more, than in movement of the feet.

After the dancing was over, the bundle was re-wrapped and re-tied. Then came the terminal feast with food provided by the vower and his relatives and served by the "waiters." Lastly, the co-keeper took back the bundle to the keeper's lodge.

Our informants were in clear agreement that a person could vow to smoke the Feathered Pipe, but Garter Snake could recall no instance of such smoking, and Al Chandler had never witnessed such, although he had been told by Sitting High that it had been done. Coming Daylight, our oldest informant, stated that "lots of people" had smoked the Feathered Pipe, and that it was smoked much oftener than the Flat Pipe. Seemingly the rite, not so infrequent prior to the 1870's, was later given up. We could obtain no details on the ceremony, but no doubt the rite followed the general pattern: offerings and sweat-lodge; unwrapping, songs, rewrapping; and terminal feast.

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that the rites and observances to be described include all or at least the main features of it, although many details may be lacking. In general, the pattern was a comparatively simple one, and, while certain sacred elements were present, recreative elements, fun-making, and a sort of Halloween spirit were decidedly to the fore.

The young fellows had a dance lodge of their own, apparently outside the camp circle. To this they brought plenty of food to provide a feast for their ritual grandfathers. After the grandfathers, or one of them, had made a smudge and offered a prayer, they painted the youths. The painting was done privately, without spectators. The smudging and praying, including perhaps the painting, were sacred. From then on the dance was secular.

After this religious part of the dance was over, the grandfather [probably of the chief vower] left the dance lodge with the young fellows, and, choosing a proper spot, started the first dance and song. The Flies formed in a circle with the grandfather in the center. He held his robe spread out, like insect wings, with his outstretched arms, and started chanting "Yo ho." The Flies then chanted "Yo ho, yo ho, yo ho," a number of times, and, crouching over danced in a circle jumping up and down on both feet together. The "song," number 65, recorded as sung by The Boy, was wordless, and more a sort of chant than a song proper, and ending with a buzzing sound. There was no accompaniment of drum or rattle. At the end of the dance the Flies all of a sudden fell over, lay on the ground face down, and hummed and buzzed like a swarm of flies (or mosquitoes).

This whole dance performance was gone through at four spots around the camp circle, to the north, east, south and west in succession.

According to Coming Daylight the ceremonial grandfather, standing in the middle of ring of dancers, would play jokes on them, throwing buffalo chips at them. According to The Boy and Thick, the Dancers themselves, either then or after breaking up, would throw buffalo chips at one another.

After the fourth dance, to the west, the dancers would disperse and would with sticks, to the end of which cactus spines were attached, stick anyone they could reach.

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● 535 Then they all went back to their lodge. And so the Fly Dance ended.

Women's Dance

*796 This dance was called benohtcao'wə. None of our informants knew the meaning of the first element of the term. The Boy thought it might possibly be related to an "old-time" Gros Ventre word for "smudge making."

The Dance was held at least twice, and perhaps oftener, during the childhood of Coming Daylight, and was last held when The Boy and Thick were small boys, too young to remember much of what they saw. Our chief informants on it were: Coming Daylight who had participated in it on two occasions as a "calf" and whose memory of many details was quite clear; The Boy and Thick who had learned something about it through personal observation, and from their elders; and Singer, a contemporary of Coming Daylight, who had witnessed it more than once. Our information supplements Kroeber's account considerably, agreeing with it in most details, but differing in some others, especially regarding personnel and regalia.[88]

As previously noted, the Dance was originally a gift from the buffalo but no origin story is known; the dancers impersonated buffalo and their performance brought buffalo for the hunters to kill.

Coming Daylight was quite positive that the Dance lasted four days or four "nights." Like the other Sacred Dances it was held in the warm weather period. According to Coming Daylight it was held once every summer.

This Sacred Dance was the only one which women could vow and only women, older or elderly ones at that, could vow it or participate in it as dancers proper. The Women's Dance was performed only in fulfillment of a vow to the Supreme Being, made by a woman. One such Women's Dance in which Coming Daylight had played the role of "calf" had been vowed by a woman "for her husband so that he would not get killed in war." He did

[88] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 260-61.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

*796 302 The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

*796 533 Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

*796 535 The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the Women's Dance, and, if any of the "cows" [522 831] did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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to jump on them," simulating copulation, to the amusement apparently of the other "cows." Whether the chief vower and the "boss" took part in the dancing is not clear,—more probably they did not.

Intervals between the dancing were given over to smoking, chatting, feasting, and fun-making. In more modern times at least the women smoked for pleasure. The dancers were each expected to bring food to the dance, and feasting was an important element, the singers at the back of the lodge faring particularly well. During these intervals, too, the women would play all kinds of tricks on one another, such as taking some woman's belongings and hiding them. They would have "lots of fun," "laughing all the time" and "making lots of racket."

Apparently it was customary for relatives of dancers in the Women's Dance, as in other sacred Dances, to give away presents to third parties in honor of the dancers.

The more public and more spectacular episodes of the Women's Dance, as of the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, occurred on the fourth and last day. To these features we now turn.

The "cows" and the "bull," all wearing their headdresses and accompanied by the "calves," left the dance lodge and went in a bunch to look for water in the creek and to drink. The "bull" followed to the rear, herding the "cows," and if one of the latter started to stray she would be punched back with the herd. Part of the time at least, the "cows" were "bent over, dancing like animals, and going on hands and knees." The "bull" would run after different "cows" and "jump on them," in mimic copulation. Coming Daylight, as a "calf" was told to follow one of the "cows" as her "mother" and try to nurse, but the "bull" chased her away when she approached her mother. In general, the "calves" were supposed to keep to the side, out of the way of the "bull."

After the drink at the creek, came the pantomime buffalo drive. The two "hunters" (cf. supra, p. 245) would make a fire outside the camp circle up-wind from the women, and as the women got the smell of the smoke, the "hunters" on horseback drove them, as in a real buffalo drive, and shot the "cows" or some of them with blunt arrows that did not hurt. The "cows" who had before-

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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Dance (Sun Dance), for example, was given in that very year and, so far as our data go, but one Crazy Dance was held after that. The seasonal Flat Pipe rite was discontinued. Furthermore there was a breakdown in the socio-political life. The necessity for nomadic life had disappeared and as a consequence there was no longer need of policing the hunt or keeping order in the camp circle when the whole tribe gathered so that, with the further establishment of peace, the raison d'être for two rival soldier societies was gone.

In the transition period the missionaries were trying valiantly to fill the gap in religious life but did not offer a satisfactory solution for the social situation; nor did the Agency which had become the center of the new economic life. It was the Grass dance, which as we have seen survived in a somewhat changed form, that seems to have filled the void left in social life.

In its earlier form the Grass dance was purely social in nature, as was the Star dance, but the latter faded away while the former attained a position of heightened importance. One of the factors accounting for this fact seems to be that the Grass dance "had more to it," as our informants put it. The performance of the dog ritual was certainly far more spectacular than the simpler dance of the Star society and, in addition, it had semi-ceremonial connotations reminiscent of other features of the older Gros Ventre culture which were lacking from the Star dance. For example, the owners of the regalia in the Grass dance were likewise officers of several degrees of importance therein, as was the case in the performance of the Sacred Dances. Again, sex abstinence was required before dancing with the crow-belts as it was before participating in the Sacrifice Dance (Sun Dance) and before dancing with the Feathered Pipe. Ceremonial incensing of persons and equipment had been a marked characteristic of Gros Ventre religious life. The formal transfer of office and regalia duplicates the pattern of transfer of office of Pipe Keeper, transfer of painted lodges, and so on. Recounting of war deeds was frequently demanded in connection with many aspects of Gros Ventre life,—to validate the giving of a name, the erection of a

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the shots and went later to see what happened, and there I saw her lying across the fire; her dress had burned off and her body was all shriveled. They weren't satisfied to kill her, but they burned her too!" She maintained her attitude and all the scolding from her relatives was of no avail.

Before turning to her adult life, we may refer to another instance which illustrates Coming Daylight's sensitivity to the suffering of others. In the Sacrifice Lodge, which is the Gros Ventre version of the well-known Plains Sun Dance, one of the important features was the spectacular self-torture which the active participants underwent. Each one had a sliver of wood embedded in the flesh of his chest. To the wood was tied a line, the other end of which was fastened high on the center-pole of the lodge. The man, leaning back so that the line was taut, went back and forth until finally the sliver was torn from his flesh. Meanwhile the women cheered on their relatives by "rattling their tongues," singing war songs, and the like, by way of encouraging the men to be brave and see the thing through. Coming Daylight was quite a young child when she first witnessed this performance. She remembered vividly her reaction when one of the young men, in his exhaustion, went to the center-pole and, putting his arms around it, wept aloud. She was not able to stand it any longer and rushed home crying. Her grandmother was very angry with her for leaving in the middle of the performance, but all the little girl could say was: "Oh, I just pitied that young man," and she could not be induced to return to the dance lodge. We may add here that actually in later years she did not participate in the Sacrifice Lodge even so far as women were allowed to do so.

The examples we have given are sufficient to show, I believe, that Coming Daylight had developed as a child a very strong set against violence, against painful and dangerous experiences. She refused medicine power from supernatural sources not only because it was dangerous but also because it involved a kind of physical activity which was repugnant to her. She refused to mutilate herself and was extremely sensitive to painful experiences in others. Her actual deviations from the patterns of accepted or approved behavior all tended in this same direction against violence. Her adult behavior likewise was consistent with this trend in her personality.

In consonance with her feeling against physical violence Coming Daylight avoided as far as possible the rough-and-tumble play in which brother-in-law and sister-in-law were free to, and indeed expected to, indulge. Other women told with glee how they enjoyed "getting even" with their brothers-in-law by, for instance, pushing them when fully clothed into the river, or dumping bucketfuls of water over their heads when they least expected it, and so on; but Coming Daylight admitted without hesitation that she didn't like that sort of thing and never attempted to retaliate even when her brothers-in-law succeeded in playing jokes on her. Similarly while it was not unusual for women rivals to actively fight over a man, she refrained from such undignified behavior, although it must be admitted that she had enough provocation on at least one occasion of which she told me. She had just married a man who was described by others as something of a gay Lothario. A woman who had been trying to force her attentions on him was furious when she heard of the marriage. She rushed to the lodge and pulled Coming Daylight out feet first, yelling insults the while. When the latter regained her feet she made no attempt to hit back even though the other slapped her and pulled off an earring, tearing the lobe of the ear. Coming Daylight, however, bided her time and soon was able to make an opportunity for an exchange of words with the woman at a big social dance.